

**ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET****SUBJECT:** (Optional)

Breakfast with Sen. Cranston on Thurs., 26 February at 0745

**FROM:**Dave Gries  
Director of Congressional Affairs**EXTENSION****NO.****DATE**

25 February 1987

**TO:** (Officer designation, room number, and building)**DATE****RECEIVED****FORWARDED****OFFICER'S  
INITIALS****COMMENTS** (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

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cc: ExDir  
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ADDI  
D/ IC Staff

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OCA 87-0607  
25 February 1987

NOTE FOR: Acting Director

FROM: Dave Gries *DP*

SUBJECT: Your Breakfast for Senator Cranston (D., CA)

You first invited Cranston several months ago when he was appointed to a vacancy on SSCI. Cranston's staffer, and I hope the Senator, are aware that the invitation is not connected with your nomination. Obviously neither you nor any of the other CIA participants should raise the nomination question. If Cranston raises it, that is another matter.

In the situation that he is a Member of the Democratic Leadership, and undoubtedly one of the busiest men in the Senate, Cranston has shown a surprising amount of interest in intelligence in the last month. He is likely to become an influential member of SSCI and his attitude toward various intelligence programs will carry considerable weight in the coming years.

We should use the opportunity of the breakfast for two purposes: First, we hope he will gain an impression of our senior officers as a group of capable, well informed professionals; second, we should introduce him to major elements of our business. To this end, I suggest you make introductory remarks about the world of intelligence and then call on the Deputy Directors one at a time to speak for three or four minutes about the work of their directorates. Your own presentation might focus on the Intelligence Community.

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### Talking Points

Senator Alan Cranston, 72, (D., CA) a former journalist and real estate executive; Cranston also was an unsuccessful candidate for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination.

Currently,

- Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs; Chairman of the Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee; member of the Securities Subcommittee.
- Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Chairman, East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee; member of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Subcommittee.
- Chairman of the Senate Committee on Veterans' Affairs.
- Member of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.
- Senate Democratic Whip.

The Senator has been a leading Senate opponent of Reagan's national security positions. He has opposed Administration aid to the contras; has supported nuclear freeze and presses for limited sharing of U.S. nuclear technology with other countries (sponsored amendment to halt military and economic aid to Pakistan). The only noteworthy support offered to the Administration in the past year was on the U.S. retaliation against Libya.

When told that he had been named to the long-sought position on the Intelligence Committee, Cranston said that he was eager to learn more about U.S. covert operations during secret committee briefings with intelligence agency officials.

His designee to the SSCI states that Cranston wants to focus on arms control and verification in his Committee work; also matters concerned with the Asia and the Pacific to coincide with his Subcommittee responsibilities in Foreign Affairs. In the 100th Congress, he has sponsored a bill to provide for a mutual, simultaneous and verifiable moratorium on the testing of nuclear warheads.

The Senator has had little contact with the Agency in recent years.

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California - Senior Senator

## Alan Cranston (D)

Of Los Angeles — Elected 1968

**Born:** June 19, 1914, Palo Alto, Calif.  
**Education:** Attended Pomona College, 1932-33; U. of Mexico, 1933; Stanford U., A.B. 1936.  
**Military Career:** Army, 1944-45.  
**Occupation:** Journalist; real estate executive; author.  
**Family:** Wife, Norma Weintraub; one child.  
**Religion:** Protestant.  
**Political Career:** Calif. Controller, 1959-67; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate, 1964; sought Democratic nomination for President, 1984.  
**Capitol Office:** 112 Hart Bldg. 20510; 224-3553.



In Washington: With the demise of his campaign for the presidency, Cranston can return to being what he was for more than a decade — the consummate Senate insider. It may take months of counting votes and arranging deals, however, to overcome the image problems left by that ill-fated venture.

The Cranston who ran for president seemed like a different person from the one who has served as assistant Democratic leader in the Senate since 1977. For all the obvious sincerity of his commitment to nuclear arms control — the centerpiece of his campaign — Cranston's attempts to compete in the media-dominated battle for the nomination struck many people as incongruous and unbecoming.

Openly self-promoting, outspoken to the point of stridency and hungry for public attention, Cranston abandoned some of his dignity in a quest for primary votes and convention delegates. He urged reporters to jog along the beach with him so he could show them how vigorous he was. He dyed his hair brown to make his gaunt visage appear more youthful.

Cranston's hair has returned to its natural color now, and he has settled back into his job as minority whip; unlike Minority Leader Robert C. Byrd, he faced no opposition for reelection at the start of the 99th Congress.

Cranston did not build his long and productive Senate career on headlines or self-promotion. He built it on his remarkable ability to sense the shifting tides of sentiment as legislative issues came to the floor. His trademark was his tally sheet, a piece of paper covered with scribbled pluses, minuses and question marks. That piece of paper was the tool that made him Democratic whip.

Cranston started nose-counting in 1969, his first year in the Senate, when he was given a chance to help manage a Job Corps bill on the floor. He liked being at the center of the action,

and soon started helping to round up votes on other measures crucial to his fellow liberals.

Cranston had discovered a vacuum in the party's leadership of the early 1970s: Majority Leader Mike Mansfield was no arm-twister, and Byrd, then the whip, was no liberal. Cranston was a certified liberal with a rare skill at building bridges to Senate moderates and conservatives. In the years that followed, he put together numerous winning coalitions.

In 1977, when Byrd became majority leader, Cranston easily won election as his deputy. Despite their ideological differences, which have narrowed over the years, the two have worked together with little friction.

Cranston has never had any grandiose notions about the powers of a Senate leader. "A lot of leadership is just housekeeping now," he said in 1982. "Occasionally you have the opportunity to provide leadership, but not that often," he says. "The weapons to keep people in line just aren't there."

The arms-control issue on which Cranston based his presidential campaign is the same one he has stressed for more than a decade in the Senate and for years before that in California. From his early work as a member of the United World Federalists to his ardent support for the nuclear freeze movement, he has never wavered from his course.

Since 1981, as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, Cranston has been one of the leading Senate backers of a weapons freeze. He has also led the fight to strengthen U.S. policies aimed at preventing nations from newly acquiring atomic weapons.

Cranston has been particularly critical of the Reagan administration's proposed nuclear-cooperation pact with China, which he worries might transfer nuclear technology to its ally

*Alan Cranston, D-Calif.*

Pakistan. Working with Ohio Democrat John Glenn, Cranston persuaded the Foreign Relations Committee in 1984 to approve an amendment halting military and economic aid to Pakistan unless the president certified that the nation was not developing nuclear weapons. Under heavy pressure from the administration, however, the committee later substantially weakened the amendment.

The reopening of arms-control negotiations with the Soviets in early 1985 spurred Cranston to reconsider some of the strong attacks he made during the campaign against the Reagan administration's overall approach to the control of nuclear weapons. After accusing Reagan of being "incapable" of reaching an agreement with the Soviets, he more recently has praised the president for undertaking talks. Cranston also has indicated support for further research on the proposed "star wars" antimissile defense system, which he labeled a "fantasy" during the campaign.

Cranston's other major subject on Foreign Relations is support for Israel. In 1981 he led Democratic opposition to the Reagan administration's sale of AWACS radar planes to Saudi Arabia.

In 1984, Cranston helped push through a provision that could have a major impact on the future course of U.S. aid to Israel. His amendment enshrined in law a statement that Israel should get at least as much economic aid each year as Israel must pay the United States on past loans. While not binding on future years, the amendment set a precedent that subsequent Congresses may find politically hard to ignore.

Cranston became chairman of the Veterans' Affairs Committee in 1977 and, in the four years he held that job, he aggressively sought expanded benefits for ex-servicemen, especially Vietnam-era veterans. For his 1980 re-election campaign, most veterans' groups were on his side.

Although he lost the chairmanship with the coming of Republican Senate control in 1980, Cranston remains an important figure on the Veterans' committee. In the past two Congresses, his close ties with veterans' groups and his alliance with moderate Republicans on the panel allowed him at times to frustrate cost-cutting initiatives by GOP Chairman Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming.

But although Cranston does not share Simpson's skeptical attitude towards many veterans' programs, the two worked together successfully on some legislation; they developed a last-minute compromise in 1984 on a bill aiding veterans exposed to the herbicide Agent Or-

ange in Vietnam. Cranston's clout is not likely to decline with the relatively inexperienced Frank H. Murkowski of Alaska as chairman in the 99th Congress.

For all his outspoken liberalism on many issues, Cranston is no doctrinaire foe of business. Indeed, his work on behalf of California business interests has been a major element of his legislative career, and a cornerstone of his political success in the state. That stance is best symbolized by his support for the B-1 bomber, which is being built in California. But he has made many similar efforts for the multitude of California special interests — from wine growers to Realtors — and for years Cranston was known among California business people as the man to see for help with the federal government.

Cranston's special status as a friend of the state's business interests was due in part to the relative weakness of his California colleagues, Republicans George Murphy and S. I. Hayakawa, and Democrat John V. Tunney. The rise of GOP Sen. Pete Wilson as an effective legislator — and a member of the majority party — may cut into Cranston's business support.

Until he went to Foreign Relations, Cranston was an active member of the then Human Resources Committee. For four years, he chaired its Subcommittee on Child and Human Development. Like Walter F. Mondale, his predecessor in that job, he pressed for expanded federal support for child care. He also has been a strong supporter of Head Start, legal services to the poor and bilingual education.

At Home: Without the benefit of a dynamic personality or speaking style, Cranston has retained the allegiance of most of California's demanding liberal Democrats while gradually building his base into a stable majority. His careful combination of idealism and interest-group politics has brought him three terms, the last two by overwhelming margins.

When World War II started, Cranston left his journalism career to become head of the Foreign Language Division of the Office of War Information. After the war, still haunted by the League of Nations fiasco, he became involved with the United World Federalists.

While involved in the family real estate business in Palo Alto in the late 1940s, Cranston helped form the liberal California Democratic Council (CDC) and served as its first president. The group was vital to launching his early electoral career.

In 1958 Cranston became the first Democrat elected state controller in 72 years. Four years later, he won re-election by a record margin. Thus emboldened, he ran for the Sen-

*California - Senior Senator*

ate in 1964, but narrowly lost the Democratic primary to former White House press secretary Pierre Salinger, who charged that state inheritance tax appraisers had been forced to give to the Cranston campaign. Salinger went on to lose to Republican George Murphy.

The voters dealt Cranston another blow in the Republican year of 1966. They turned him out of his controller's post. But two years later, he tried for the Senate again. He won a five-way primary over a field that included state Sen. Anthony C. Beilenson, now a U.S. House member. That contest was gentle, as the top contenders all were liberals and Vietnam doves.

The general election, however, pitted Cranston against conservative Max Rafferty, the state superintendent of public instruction. Rafferty punched hard, attacking Cranston for ties to "left-wing radical groups" like the CDC and for advocating a Vietnam bombing halt — which he said would endanger U.S. troops.

The GOP was badly divided, however, following an angry primary in which Rafferty had unseated moderate incumbent Thomas H. Kuchel, the Senate minority whip. In addition, a newspaper series tarnished Rafferty's super-patriot reputation by alleging that he was a World War II draft-dodger. Cranston won by 350,000 votes.

In 1974 Cranston had an easy time against state Sen. H. L. "Bill" Richardson, an early New Right activist and former John Birch Society field worker. At one point, when the Birch Society announced plans to circulate material linking Cranston to communists, it drew a rebuke from Gov. Ronald Reagan.

Cranston was blessed with similarly weak Republican opposition in 1980 from tax revolt leader Paul Gann, co-author of Proposition 13, which cut state property taxes. But the tax issue had faded in two years, and Gann was a hopelessly inarticulate candidate.

### Committees

#### Minority Whip

#### Veterans Affairs (Ranking)

Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs (2nd of 7 Democrats)  
Securities (ranking); Financial Institutions and Consumer Affairs; Housing and Urban Affairs.

#### Foreign Relations (5th of 8 Democrats)

East Asian and Pacific Affairs (ranking); Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs.

### Elections

#### 1980 General

Alan Cranston (D) 4,705,399 (57%)  
Paul Gann (R) 3,093,426 (37%)

#### 1980 Primary

Alan Cranston (D) 2,608,746 (80%)  
Richard Morgan (D) 350,394 (11%)  
Frank Thomas (D) 195,351 (6%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1974 (61%) 1968 (52%)

### Campaign Finance

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
1980			
Cranston (D)	\$3,144,094	\$418,316 (13%)	\$2,823,607
Gann (R)	\$1,208,851	\$85,072 (7%)	\$1,152,272

### Voting Studies

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	19	61	74	7	13	72
1983	28	40	55	7	7	52
1982	26	66	81	10	7	84

Year	S	O	S	O	S	O
1981	38	48	77	10	10	74
1980	63	10	81	6	8	89
1979	77	16	83	26	15	81
1978	87	13	88	8	11	87
1977	80	16	81	10	20	74
1976	34	58	84	6	11	79
1975	40	57	92	7	13	86
1974 (Ford)	44	56				
1974	33	63	87	9	6	90
1973	32	56	82	5	13	76
1972	35	61	86	8	7	87
1971	35	60	80	13	8	86

S - Support O - Opposition

### Key Votes

Overturn Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion (1983)	N
Allow chemical weapons production (1983)	N
Create Martin Luther King Jr. holiday (1983)	Y
Bar funding for MX missile (1983)	Y
Permit school prayer (1984)	N
Cut military aid to El Salvador (1984)	Y
Keep tax indexing (1984)	N
Retain funds for "Star Wars" defense research (1984)	N
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	N

### Interest Group Ratings

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCUS-1	CCUS-2
1984	95	0	100	20	
1983	75	9	100	18	
1982	95	6	96	11	
1981	85	6	100	13	
1980	83	5	83	22	
1979	79	4	88	27	33
1978	85	8	89	28	
1977	80	4	79	12	
1976	75	4	88	0	
1975	89	11	90	6	
1974	90	0	91	10	
1973	85	8	90	0	
1972	90	5	100	0	
1971	89	0	92	-	